

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /011 W  
-----129620 121635Z /50  
R 121200Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LOME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3371

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LOME 110

FOR AF ONLY

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV US XA  
SUBJ: DRAFT PAPER: NEW POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

REF: 77 STATE 311031

SUMMARY: EMBASSY WELCOMES THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS AND GREATLY APPRECIATES THE DEPARTMENT'S DECISION TO CIRCULATE THE SUBJECT PAPER FOR FIELD COMMENT. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE NATURE OF THE AFRICAN STATE SYSTEM WILL FRUSTRATE A POLICY BASED ON SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH SELECTED STATES. THUS, WE QUESTION THE PREMISE THAT AFRICAN STATES CAN BE USEFULLY DIVIDED INTO LEADERS AND LED, AND PROPOSE AN ALTERNATIVE.

AFRICA IS MADE UP OF A LARGE NUMBER OF SOVEREIGN STATES, MOSTLY SMALL, THAT HAVE A HIGH RATE OF INTERACTION AMONG THEMSELVES. POTENTIAL LEADERS ARE ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO THE OPINIONS OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SYSTEM, AND THE SYSTEM AS A WHOLE HAS A STRONG TENDANCY TO REACH A CONSENSUS WHICH INEVITABLY INCLUDES BOTH LARGER AND SMALLER STATES. DISPARITIES OF INFLUENCE AMONG BLACK AFRICAN STATES ARE REDUCED BY 1) A STRONG CONTINENTAL COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF THE EQUALITY OF SOVEREIGNTY STATES; 2) THE LOGISTIC OBSTACLES TO THE APPLICATION OF RAW POWER BY AFRICAN ARMIES; AND 3) THE GENERAL POVERTY OF AFRICAN  
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NATIONS WHICH EFFECTIVELY EXCLUDES SUBSIDIES AS AN INSTRUMENT OF INFLUENCE. HISTORICALLY, ATTEMPTS BY MODERATES, INCLUDING SEVERAL SLECTED IN THE SUBJECT DRAFT FOR SPECIAL INITIATIVES, TO ASSUME A LEADERSHIP ROLE HAVE NOT BEEN PROMISING. THE ENTENTE, THE UNION AFRICAINE AND MALGACHE, EVEN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY, NEVER ASSUMED THE POLITICAL ROLE EXPECTED

OF THEM. ON SOME ISSUES, LIKE THE CREATION OF ECOWAS WHERE TOGO'S POSITION PREVAILED OVER THAT OF SENEGAL AND THE IVORY COAST, LEADERSHIP HAS NOT FOLLOWED THE EXPECTED DYNAMICS OF SIZE. IN SHORT, THE PATTERN IS COMPLEX; THE LEADER ON ONE ISSUE IS THE LED ON THE NEXT.

IN A SYSTEM WHICH TENDS TO MOVE AS A WHOLE, AN OUTSIDE POWER LIKE THE US CAN ACHIEVE ITS POLICY OBJECTIVES ONLY WHEN THE AFRICAN CONSENSUS IS FAVORABLE. TO INFLUENCE THIS REQUIRES EFFECTIVE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH MANY OF THE COMPONENT NATIONS OF THE SYSTEM, LARGE AND SMALL. INITIATIVES WHICH CONCENTRATE ON SELECTED STATES MAY FAIL TO INFLUENCE THE CONSENSUS AND THUS GREATLY LIMIT THEIR EFFECTIVENESS EVEN WITH THE TARGET STATES.

OUR ANALYSIS CONCLUDES THAT AN AFRICAN POLICY TO BE EFFECTIVE MUST BE FOUNDED ON CONSTRUCTIVE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH NUMEROUS AFRICAN STATES, LARGE AND SMALL, AND PERHAPS REQUIRES A HIGHER LEVEL OF RESOURCES THAN NOW PROJECTED. WE CANNOT CHANGE AND SHOULD NOT IGNORE THE REALITY OF THE AFRICAN STATE SYSTEM. UNLESS WE COME TO TERMS WITH IT, AFRICA WILL CONTINUE TO ADOPT CONSENSUS POSITIONS WITHOUT REGARD TO OUR INTERESTS. END SUMMARY

1. EMBASSY COMMENDS DRAFT PAPER, "NEW POLICY ISSUES IN AFRICA", AND APPRECIATES OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS OF WHICH PAPER IS HEALTHY REFLECTION. STRESS IN PAPER ON POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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SMALLER AND MORE MODERATE STATES SUCH AS TOGO TO PROMOTION OF GREATER US-AFRICAN UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION IS PARTICULARLY RELEVANT.

2. WITH THESE THOUGHTS AS PROLOGUE, EMBASSY OFFERS FOLLOWING CRITIQUE OF BASIC PREMISE OF PAPER IN SPIRIT OF CREATIVE DIALOGUE. THE PROBLEM SET FORTH IN THE ISSUE FOR DECISION IS INACCURATELY POSED. EFFECTIVE US INTERACTION WITH THE AFRICAN SYSTEM OF STATES AT THIS POINT IN MODERN HISTORY CANNOT REPEAT CANNOT BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY "SPECIAL INITIATIVES TO STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS WITH SELECTED AFRICAN STATES EXHIBITING CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL ON THE CONTINENT AND IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS." IN A SYSTEM COMPOSED OF ABOUT 50 ACTORS, A US STRATEGY AIMED AT DEALING WITH AN ELITE OF EIGHT OF TEN OR FIFTEEN LEADERS WILL ALMOST INEVITABLY PROVE INADEQUATE, PARTICULARLY IF IT IS ADMITTEDLY PSYCHOLOGICAL-ORIENTED AND GENERALLY LACKING IN RESOURCES OTHER THAN DIPLOMATIC PALAVER.

3. IN CONTRAST TO THE RELATIVELY SMALL GROUP OF AFRICAN STATES AND STATESMEN ASSUMED BY THE PAPER TO HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO EXERCISE CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP, EMBASSY LOME

PROPOSES AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL WHICH, WE BELIEVE, MAY MORE CLOSELY APPROXIMATE THE REALITY OF INTER-AFRICAN RELATIONSHIPS.

4. THE AFRICAN STATE SYSTEM INVOLVES A LARGE NUMBER OF SOVEREIGN NEIGHBORS, MOSTLY SMALL, THAT ARE CONSTANTLY REACTING WITH EACH OTHER BOTH IN REGIONAL CONTEXTS AND IN A LARGER AFRICAN FRAMEWORK. LARGER STATES WITH AMBITIONS FOR REGIONAL OR CONTINENTAL LEADERSHIP ARE ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO THE CONCERNS OF EVEN THE SMALLEST MEMBERS OF THE SYSTEM. FEW STATES, LARGE AND SMALL, WISH TO STRAY FAR FROM THE AFRICAN CENTER OF POLITICAL GRAVITY. YET CONSENSUS BECOMES POSSIBLE ONLY IF A GOOD NUMBER OF STATES, INCLUDING SMALL ONES, AGREE TO A COMMON POSITION.

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5. THREE FACTORS TEND TO REDUCE DISPARITIES OF INFLUENCE BETWEEN LARGER AND SMALLER STATES IN THIS SYSTEM. AFRICAN STATES ARE FIERCELY ATTACHED TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT SOVEREIGN NATIONS ARE EQUAL ON THE VERY LOGICAL GROUNDS THAT EVEN THE LARGEST AFRICAN NATIONS ARE WEAK AT THIS POINT IN THEIR MODERN DEVELOPMENT COMPARED TO SMALLER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. EXCEPT AT THE MARGINS WHEN BLACK AFRICAN SOCIETIES RUN INTO WHITE-CONTROLLED OR ARAB STATES, THE AFRICAN STATE SYSTEM HAS LARGELY REFRAINED, DOUBTLESS OUT OF LACK OF LOGISTIC CAPABILITIES, FROM MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS BETWEEN STATES; THIS RELATIVE STABILITY DEVALUES DIFFERENCES IN RAW STATE POWER. FINALLY, NO AFRICAN STATE, HOWEVER AMBITIOUS FOR INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE, IS IN A POSITION TO GATHER A FOLLOWING THROUGH SUBSTANTIAL SUBSIDIES OR TANGIBLE FAVORS.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /011 W  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LOME 110

6. POST INDEPENDENCE HISTORY IS FULL OF EXAMPLES OF UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO ASSERT REGIONAL LEADERSHIP THE FAILURE OF WHICH CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE INTRACTABILITY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM (IE, THE REFUSAL OF THE SMALLER AND POORER STATES TO BE LED.) ORIGINALLY, THE ENTENTE (IVORY COAST, NIGER, UPPER VOLTA AND BENIN; WITH TOGO JOINING IN 1965) WAS AN ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE A MEASURE OF HOUPHOUET'S LEADERSHIP OF THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE RDA POLITICAL PARTY INTO A POST-COLONIAL WORLD OF SOVEREIGN STATES. THE INITIATIVE DID NOT PREVENT EACH STATE GOING ITS OWN WAY AND THE OVERTHROW OF ALL THE FORMER RDA LEADERS (EXCEPT HOUPHOUET). ONE OF ITS MEMBERS, BENIN, NOW PROFFESSES ADHERENCE TO MARXISM-LENINISM. THE ENTENTE SURVIVES BUT IN A LIMITED ECONOMIC, NOT POLITICAL ROLE; EXCEPT FOR STYLIZED DEFERENCE TO THE VENERABLE HOUPHOUET.

7. FRENCH-BACKED ATTEMPTS (WITH US APPROVAL) TO EXTEND THE MODERATE INFLUENCE OF SENGHOR AND HOUPHOUET THROUGHOUT FRANCOPHONE AFRICA IN THE EARLY 1960'S BY THE MECHANISM OF THE UNION AFRICAINE ET MALGACHE WERE INEFFECTIVE POLITICALLY, ALTHOUGH THE REMNANT OF THE IDEA, NOW CALLED OCAM AFTER MANY TRANSFORMATIONS, STAGGERS ON IN A PURELY ECONOMIC FORM.

8. IN EAST AFRICA, THE LOGICAL MODERATE LEADER, KENYA, IN FACT IS ESTRANGED FROM ALL ITS NEIGHBORS (EXCEPT SUDAN) AND THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY IS DEAD. ATTEMPTS BY SENGHOR-- AND TO A LESSER EXTENT HOUPHOUET--TO PREVENT THE FORMATION

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OF BILINGUAL ECOWAS FAILED. THE MOST ACTIVE FRANCOPHONE SUPPORTER OF THE ECOWAS IDEA WAS LITTLE TOGO, AND IN THE END SENEGAL AND THE IVORY COAST HAD TO GO ALONG AND ACCEPT A POTENTIALLY INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP WITH GIANT NIGERIA WHICH NEITHER RELISHES. THE POINT OF THESE HISTORICAL EXAMPLES IS NOT TO SHOW THAT AFRICAN STATES CANNOT INFLUENCE EACH OTHER. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY CAN AND DO. BUT THE PATTERN IS COMPLEX; THE LEADER ON ONE ISSUE IS THE LED ON THE NEXT.

9. THE AFRICAN STATE SYSTEM, CHARACTERIZED BY HIGH DEGREES OF EQUALITY AND CONTACT BETWEEN ITS MEMBERS, TENDS TO MOVE AS A WHOLE. INFLUENCE BY OUTSIDERS CAN BE EFFECTIVELY ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF THE COMPONENT STATES. BROAD US POLICY OBJECTIVES LIKE PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, CONTAINING SOVIET INFLUENCE, ASSURING ACCESS TO NATURAL RESOURCES, AND ACHIEVING COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS IMPLY THE SUPPORT OR TOLERATION OF THE MAJORITY OF AFRICAN

COUNTRIES, IN OTHER WORDS A FAVORABLE CONSENSUS. (MANY STATES IN FACT INSTRUCT THEIR DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES TO VOTE WITH THE AFRICAN MAJORITY.) IN SEEKING THIS CONSENSUS, ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES, HOWEVER SMALL OR SEEMINGLY INNOCUOUS, PLAY ROLES OF VARYING IMPORTANCE THROUGH PARTICIPATION OF THEIR DECISION-MAKING ELITES. THUS, EFFECTIVE US RELATIONS AT THE MULTILATERAL LEVEL WITH AFRICA PRESUPPOSES EFFECTIVE RELATIONS AT THE BILATERAL LEVEL.

10. IN THE EYES OF AN AFRICAN COUNTRY, THE IMPORTANCE OR EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US IS MEASURED NOT ONLY BY ITS INTELLECTUAL OR MORAL APPRECIATION OF THE US STANCE ON BROAD ISSUES--EG, MINORITY RULE, HUMAN RIGHTS, COMMODITIES, TRADE PREFERENCES--BUT ALSO BY ITS CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCRETE BILATERAL TIES, INCLUDING POLITICAL DIALOGUE, CULTURAL INTERACTION, MILITARY TRAINING ARRANGEMENTS, TRADE, PEACE CORPS PROGRAMS, ACADEMIC EXCHANGES, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, ETC. IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT SUCH BILATERAL ELEMENTS OF RELEVANCE WILL NORMALLY NOT LEAD AN AFRICAN COUNTRY TO DEFER TO THE US IN THE FACE OF A CONTRARY AFRICAN CONSENSUS. IT MIGHT LEAD THE AFRICAN COUNTRY, HOWEVER, TO PREFER A CONSENSUS LESS THREATENING TO ITS COMFORTABLE TIES WITH THE US. IF ENOUGH AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE SUFFICIENTLY ENGAGED IN CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE US, A FAVORABLE AFRICAN CONSENSUS MAY EMERGE.

11. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS ANALYSIS ARE CLEAR:  
--EFFECTIVE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES, REGARDLESS OF SIZE, ARE IMPORTANT IN ORDER FOR US POLICY TO ACHIEVE USEFUL IMPACT ON THE ENTIRE SYSTEM.  
--CONVERSELY, POLICIES WHICH CONCENTRATE ON STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH A FEW IMPORTANT OR CURRENTLY MODERATE AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE PROBABLY INADEQUATE TO INFLUENCE THE SYSTEM AS A WHOLE OR EVEN, THEREFORE, THE TARGET COUNTRIES THEMSELVES, EXCEPT marginally.  
--THUS, THE ABSOLUTE LEVEL OF US RESOURCES DEVOTED TO AFRICA IN TERMS OF CURRENT PROJECTIONS, MAY BE TOO SMALL TO ACHIEVE INFLUENCE, SINCE MORE EFFECTIVE POLICIES DEPEND ON STEPPING UP THE LEVEL OF INTERACTION WITH NUMEROUS COUNTRIES, LARGE AND SMALL.

12. WHERE DOES THIS LEAVE US? CLEARLY WE MUST DEAL WITH AFRICA ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS. WE SHOULD BE STEADILY WEAVING A WEB OF BILATERAL (AND MULTILATERAL) RELATIONSHIPS--ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, CULTURAL--THAT INCREASE OUR RELEVANCE TO AS MANY COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE. THE AMOUNT OF RESOURCES DEVOTED TO EACH BILATERAL EFFORT

SHOULD BE PROPORTIONAL TO THE PROSPECT FOR IMPROVED  
RELATIONS. THERE WILL BE COUNTRIES WHERE FOR IDEOLOGICAL  
OR HUMAN RIGHTS REASONS THE HOPE FOR INCREASED US RELEVANCE  
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THROUGH IMPROVED BILATERAL TIES MUST BE DEFERRED, AND OUR  
EXPENDITURE OF RESOURCES IN SUCH COUNTRIES SHOULD BE REDUCED  
ACCORDINGLY. DOMESTIC POLITICAL EVENTS AND OTHER FACTORS  
BEYOND OUR CONTROL WILL LEAD TO DISCONTINUITIES, AS HAPPENED  
IN ETHIOPIA. THE PRINCIPAL DRAWBACK TO THE COUNTRY-BY-  
COUNTRY APPROACH IS, HOWEVER, THE LARGER NUMBER OF AFRICAN  
STATES AND THE AMOUNT OF INVESTMENT IN TIME AND TREASURE  
LIKELY TO BE REQUIRED. BUT WE CANNOT CHANGE OR IGNORE  
THAT REALITY. WE MUST ACCEPT IT AND LEARN TO EXAMINE AND  
UNDERSTAND EACH COUNTRY'S SITUATION AND ADJUST OUR BILATERAL  
POLICIES ACCORDINGLY. UNLESS WE DO, THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES  
WILL NOT ACCEPT OUR RELEVANCE, AND THE CONTINENT AS A WHOLE  
WILL CONTINUE TO ADOPT CONSENSUS WITHOUT REGARD  
TO OUR INTERESTS.

13. NONE OF THE FOREGOING SUGGESTS THAT THE FUNDEMENTAL  
CONCEPT OF CLOSER US TIES WITH THE LARGER MODERATE STATES IS  
INVALID OR UNDESIRABLE. ON THE CONTRARY, EMBASSY LOME IS  
ARGUING INSTEAD THAT THE COURSES OF ACTION SET FORTH IN THE  
ESTIMAABLE PAPER, NEW POLICY ISSUES IN AFRICA, APPLY REALIST-  
ICALLY TO THE ENTIRE AFRICAN SYSTEM. THE ABILITY OF THE  
LEADERS TO LEAD IS A FUNCTION OF THE WILLINGNESS OF THE  
LED TO FOLLOW. SELF-INTEREST REMAINS THE KEY TO THE  
BEHAVIOR OF NATIONS. PALMER

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 12 jan 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
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**To:** STATE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014